

tion of the Census bill. After free debate and several amendments, the bill was read a third time and passed.

## THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, APRIL 18, 1850.

### A HINT.

We hope that every subscriber, whose term of subscription is about running out, will bear in mind that by remitting us five dollars he can renew his own subscription for a year, and procure two copies besides for new subscribers. Who lives in a region so unpropitious that he cannot raise two subscribers?

### ADVERTISERS.

To the extent of three or four columns we can accommodate advertisers. We have a permanent circulation larger, we believe, than that of any newspaper in the city. Merchants in the East, and Western dealers, too, will find it greatly to their advantage to advertise in the *Era*.

### CONGRESSIONAL SPEECHES.

In pamphlet form, may be had of our printers, Messrs. Boell & Blanchard. For particulars, see their advertisement, in another column.

Subscribers who do not file the *Era*, and have numbers 153, 162, 163, 166, 167, or 168, on hand, will confer a favor by remitting them to this office.

An inquirer lately desired us to inform him whence was derived that saying of Gen. Washington—"slavery ought to be abolished by law, &c." By referring to Mr. Chase's speech in last week's *Era* he will learn all about it.

"ARE YOU SURE," asks a western subscriber, "that all your papers are mailed by Wednesday evening, so as to be in time for the Western mail which closes at nine o'clock that evening?" When we say we know a thing, we know it. If any friend be in doubt, we can furnish him eight or ten affidavits of the fact.

MR. HENDERSON'S ARTICLE, addressed to Mr. Atchison, appeared some time since.

CORRESPONDENTS.—Certain correspondents must allow us to edit our own paper. We think we know better than they how to provide for our numerous readers. It would be very gratifying to us, were we able to make a clean sweep at once of our pigeon-hole, but as the *Era* contains only a certain number of square inches we must do the best we can with our space. Meantime we suggest to those who would like to see our columns filled with speeches, grave essays, and nothing else, to remember that there are other wants than theirs to be supplied, other tastes to be gratified, and that should we adapt our paper exclusively to their notions, we should soon be obliged to depend exclusively upon their patronage.

### THE PRESIDENCY AND "THE EVIL OF THE DAY."

The *National Intelligencer* has devoted many long editorials to various aspects of what it calls "The Evil of the Day"—the present struggle concerning slavery. One aspect of it, looking towards the Presidency, it has neglected to notice.

The Presidency is the highest prize of political ambition in this country. Few public men who have become prominent, are unwilling to be recognized as candidates for it. The Presidential term is so brief, that hardly is one canvass over before another begins; so that the country has no rest from party turmoil. The game for the Presidency is in fact always going on, and, as the candidates are many, and their friends are scattered over the country, not a few of them favoring a personal interest in the success of their favorite, it is everywhere going on.

Of course, no important question of State or Federal politics can be free from its manifold influences. The calculations of the players embrace the whole field of politics; great public questions are regarded in their bearings upon the Presidency; and candidates, in choosing their positions upon them, hardly fail to take into consideration the influence their choice may exert over their chances for that high office.

In the *Era* of last week we referred to the remarkable movements of Messrs. Clay and Webster, who may be regarded as rival Whig candidates. The movements of Messrs. Clay and Buchanan are no less noteworthy. In the early part of the session, Mr. Buchanan, long known as a candidate for Presidential honors, spent a month in assiduous attendance on Congress. Like Messrs. Cass, Clay, and Webster, he became profoundly impressed with alarm for the fate of the Union, and his patriotic anxiety to restore peace to our beloved country led him to commune daily with Mr. Davis of Mississippi and other Southern gentlemen respecting some feasible mode of compromise. The result was, a determination in favor of the line of the Missouri Compromise. Just about this time, the Non-Intervention doctrine of General Cass began to be called in question by Southern men in both Houses of Congress. Mr. Davis of Mississippi, in the Senate, with other gentlemen from his section, took strong exceptions to it, and Mr. Brown of the same State in the House, with several other Southern Representatives, openly condemned it. General Cass seemed to be losing ground at the South, while Mr. Buchanan and his favorite plan of settling the controversy, were openly commended by Southern men.

In due time the Ex-Secretary departed, and not long afterwards, Mr. Cass took occasion to define his position, and bring up the subject of the Missouri Compromise. It was done ingeniously. Mr. Davis of Mississippi was catechized in regard to his construction of that policy. That compromise excluded slavery above the parallel of 36° 30', without excluding or recognizing it below—that was the substance of the line against slavery, and non-intervention below. Would Mr. Davis accept that compromise, for the present Territories? Mr. Davis had already said, and he would repeat, that what he demanded was, the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific, with a specific recognition of the right to hold slaves below that line? "Ah," said Mr. Cass—"that would be the Missouri Compromise"—and then he went into an argument to show that that compromise (the one proposed by Mr. Buchanan, recollect) was not so good for the South, as his doctrine of Non-Intervention; for, while it secured Non-Intervention only below 36° 30', his plan established it in all the Territories above and below. The demonstration was complete. Mr. Buchanan was foiled—the Missouri Compromise was no more talked of—Mr. Cass had out-generalled his opponent—and now, in the language of the *X* correspondent of the Baltimore Sun, (understood to be Mr. Grund, who is doing all he can to vilify every statesman true to Liberty, and magnify every statesman compliant with slavery) "the General has reconquered his ground."

So thinks the Washington Union, which congratulates General Cass on the fact that Mr. Webster, Mr. Clay, and the most conservative portions of the Whig party, have come over to his platform.

Nothing is more certain than that Mr. Buchanan's month's session in Congress has proved of no effect. General Cass, it is now understood by his sanguine friends in Congress, will be the nominee of the Baltimore Convention in 1852. Already these friends have begun the secret canvass, and leading Democrats in the several States are appealed to by every variety of motive, including contingent promises of future Executive favor, to lend them a helping hand.

Of course, it is necessary to dispose as speedily as possible of the slavery question now before Congress, and to do so in a way not to offend the South, without whose support General Cass might ultimately fail!

We ask the People of the free States, what can be expected of a Congress subjected constantly to such influences? As an accommodation to certain Whig and Democratic gentlemen who are ambitious for Presidential honors, and to promote the views of certain members of Congress anxious for future Presidential favors, the great struggle for Freedom in the Territories, in which the People of the free States have been so deeply and generally engaged for the last three years, is to be decided adversely to their will, solemnly and repeatedly declared!

Now, we predict, with undoubting confidence, that not one of the Presidential aspirants, through whose efforts the Jeffersonian policy of Slavery Restriction has suffered detriment, will ever reach the prize for which he has bowed to the behests of the Slave Power, and consented to hazard the destinies of the millions who are to people the vast Territories of this Union.

### THE COMPROMISE COMMITTEE.

Our readers will be deeply interested in the proceedings of the Senate respecting the organization of a Committee. The design of it is now palpable enough. California is ready for admission as a State. The People of the country demand her admission; a large majority of both Houses of Congress is in favor of it. Not a single decent reason has been shown why she should not be admitted. And yet the Slave men, aided by Messrs. Webster, Cass, Dickinson, Bright, and Whitcomb, from the free States, are playing every art, to compel a reference of the question of her admission to a Committee of Compromise, raised in opposition to the will of nearly one-half of the Senate, and of all the Senators from the free States, except five. Why not relinquish the project, and be content to pursue his object by the ordinary methods of legislation, meeting upon equal terms the opponents of his views? Certainly, this would be more in accordance with the frankness and boldness which mark his proceedings generally.

Meantime the country will watch the acts and votes of every leading man of the Senate in this extraordinary attempt to constitute what may properly be styled a *Log-Rolling Committee*.

### THE WILMOT PROVISION AND ITS NORTHERN SUPPORTERS.

The *New York Tribune*, observing a Telegraphic Despatch in the *New York Express*, announcing the prospect of an adjustment of the Slavery Question on principles of compromise, through the efforts of Cass, Webster, and others, has the following comments upon the intelligence:

"Presuming, from all we hear, that there is some foundation for this bulletin, we have a few words to say about it."

"We are yet to be convinced of the expediency of conceding the admission of California with any other question whatever. California is a State, which Congress cannot admit or reject, and cannot be admitted into a Territorial condition. If she is not wanted in the Union, she will not cry about it; she is perfectly able and willing to take care of herself. But she is in no danger of being rejected. All her friends ask is the vote, and whenever that can be reached she will go through each House by a vote of nearly two to one, without compromise. She can be put through by daylight, and ask no odds any day. Why, then, include her in any compromise?"

"New Mexico has her hand in the tiger's mouth, and we have long been convinced of the necessity of some compromise to release it. If the Northern 'Democracy,' as they call themselves, would vote to organize her with her ancient and rightful boundaries, as they will vote to admit Texas, we would prefer no compromise at all. But since they will not do it, and she is in peril of subjugation to Texas, we will consent to any reasonable compromise, so long as it does not give her any other way of escape for her being open—to organize her and Utah without the Proviso, if we might thereby effectively and conclusively shield her from the grasp of Texas. That we consider a fair compromise, since we cannot secure what we deem most important without one. But any bill organizing New Mexico without the Proviso which does not give her a clear quitclaim and ample security for the pretensions of Texas should be opposed to the last gasp."

"Perhaps the boundary of Texas," says 'An Eye.' 'The People will admire to see a list of the members from free States who will vote to organize the Territories without the Proviso, and set about the choice of Texas to dominating over the better part of New Mexico. For what reason should a Representative of Free Labor do anything of the sort? Better, far better, leave her unorganized than that.'

"But again: We are prepared to sacrifice nothing to rescue New Mexico from the peril of the fear of Texas subjugation, but not so much. If we waive the Proviso to this end, that should suffice. To cut her off from Texas beside, by giving her several millions of dollars for her preposterous claim, is not fair. If we pay her off, we ought not to be asked to waive the Proviso. If we waive the Proviso, we should not be asked to buy off Texas. The odds must not be all against us."

"Friends of Freedom and Justice! be not abate, but be wary! Secure all the good you can, but if nothing good is practical, affirmatively, there will be virtue in saying 'No!' That is a pretty safe word to say when no good is clearly attainable—no evil can be surely prevented. But we will hope that an adjustment that will do us no practical harm."

"The *New York Tribune* is one of the prominent champions of the North, equal to any of its class in ability and zeal. The editorial copied above is a fair specimen of the tact, sagacity, and spirit with which it has advocated the cause of Freedom."

"How it may strike others, we know not; but the temper and policy indicated by it, and the kindred policy of a majority of the Whig and Democratic Journals of the free States, are directly calculated to paralyze the friends of Freedom, to encourage its foes, and to strengthen them in their aggressive demands."

Last year, after the reception of the intelligence of the formation of a State Constitution in California, excluding slavery, the *Tribune* congratulated its readers upon the settlement of the Question of Slavery, and charged upon those who continued the work of agitation, a design to achieve some selfish purpose, or to embarrass the Administration.

We warned the Public against deception and a false security—insisted that the Question was as far from being settled as ever—that its position was changed, and new embarrassments thrown about it—that the new State would only comprehend one-half of the Territory of California—that its admission would be resisted by the Pro-Slavery men, not absolutely and directly, but as a separate measure—that the question of Territorial Governments for Desert and New Mexico, and the question of boundary between the latter and Texas, would be connected with a bill for the admission of California, in the form of a compromise adjustment, the slaveholders demanding the abandonment of the Proviso in the Territorial Governments on the condition of their consent to the admission of the new State. Repeatedly did we urge this view, for the purpose of stimulating the vigilance of the friends of Free Soil, and preventing them from relaxing their efforts. The *Tribune* and other party papers cried, Peace! Peace! and the People generally relaxed into the indifference which ever attends a state of false security.

Well, events have turned out precisely as we expected. The slaveholders from the first day of Congress have demanded that the questions concerning the admission of California, the settlement of the Texas boundary, and the organization of Territorial Governments, be adjusted in one bill, in which the Wilmot Proviso shall be repudiated; the tendency of things in Congress for the last four months has favored this policy, and for some weeks past it has been known that Messrs. Clay, Cass, and Webster, would probably sustain it. And now, what do we hear? A faint note of protest from the *Tribune*! "Presuming," it says, "from all we hear, that there is some foundation for this bulletin," &c. "Some foundation!" why this fraudulent plan of settling the question has been the purpose of the slaveholders from the time California excluded slavery, and all their tactics in Congress have been shaped with a view to its accomplishment. It is at last what we have feared, and the *Tribune* is at last awake—probably, other Northern newspapers will be awakened, and the vigilance of the friends of Freedom will begin to rub their eyes, by the time slavery shall have won the North, and through it to bring Public Sentiment to that quarter to hear upon Congress. We took Mr. Clingman's Letter to Mr. Foote, concerning the policy to be pursued by the South, as a text to show that there was an organized movement on foot to unite the Southern members without distinction of Party, for the purpose of making the question of slavery extension, a test in the election of Speaker and other officers, of securing to the Extensionists the absolute control of both Houses of Congress, and of compelling the members of the old parties from the North to renounce or waive the Proviso.

Such a plot, we argued, called for corresponding union among the opponents of Slavery Extension. But the warning was unheeded. The Press and the People of the free States seemed alike indifferent. What was the result? The Principle of Slavery-Extension obtained a complete triumph in the organization of the House, and in the construction of the Committees of the Senate, although, in the former body the representatives of the free States had a clear majority of forty-nine, and in the latter, the members of the free States, with the aid of the Delaware Senators, had a majority of four!

The Speaker of the House was elected as a Slavery-Extensionist, and every Committee in the House and in the Senate, which could act in relation to slavery, was so organized as to promote the policy of non-restriction.

From that moment we apprehended death to the Proviso. Men, who in the vital matter of organization, would vote so as to place that measure at the absolute mercy of the slaveholders, could not be relied upon when the question should come up on its merits. The Party considerations which had controlled them in the former case, would control them in the latter.

The *Tribune* might have foreseen this—so might other Party presses at the North—and it was in their power to arouse the People to the danger, and to evoke such expressions of sentiment, as might have arrested the march of Compromise in both Houses. But they did not do it. While they all slept, the Devil was busy sowing tares, and these have sprung up so thickly that you can hardly tell where the wheat is.

The downward course of the old parties has been gradual, but steady. The President's policy of non-action, though not a formal sacrifice of the Wilmot Proviso, was accepted by the Whig Party generally. This broke the tie of sympathy which till then had bound both the old parties to support the Proviso. The Democrats did not choose to go over to a new platform erected by their opponents, and became the supporters of the Administration; many of them having adhered to the Proviso merely from motives of policy, now felt released from it by the change of policy in the Whig Party; some shrank from the prospect of being left alone to bear the burden of a measure odious to the South. The votes taken in the House during the early period of the session revealed the growing defection.

The Press was apathetic, the People were indifferent. The South was united, her Representatives and Senators in Congress plied all the arts of intimidation and flattery. What could be expected? The silence of the press, the apparent absence of excitement in the North encouraged still further defection on the part of Northern members. Since the waiver of the Wilmot Proviso had provoked scarcely a murmur of disapprobation in the Whig Party, why not strike a final blow at Free-Soilism, by settling the whole question at once, without a word about the Proviso? So thought Daniel Webster, and so he spoke. It did seem at first as if this were rather a hazardous movement for a Whig Statesman, but subsequent events show that whatever he may lose personally, by want of adroitness in his apostasy, his example will find too many imitators.

What, for example, shall we say of the *New York Tribune*? Read the article quoted above—and tell us, wherein practically, it differs from the policy of Mr. Webster. The editor is greatly concerned about New Mexico—he fears that a large portion of her territory may be absorbed by Texas—and therefore, he would consent to abandon the Proviso, to organize the Territories of Utah and New Mexico, on the Cass Principle of Non-Intervention, provided Texas consent to relinquish her claim! If she will not do this, then, he is in favor of buying out her claim, but thinks it is not fair in that case to give up the Proviso too. Well—there is this difference between the *Tribune* and Mr. Webster—the latter is in favor of buying out Texas and selling out the Proviso too, while the former is willing to sell out the Proviso, or to buy out Texas, but thinks it rather hard to be called upon to do both!

And is it by this chaffering policy that the power of the Slaveholders is to be confronted, and their demands baffled? Give up the Proviso in New Mexico and Desert, provided Texas will release her claim to a portion of the former! What matters it, though New Mexico leave her soil to Texas? If it is to be exposed to the curse of Slavery, if we would have every State, every Territory secured in its rightful boundaries, but this is a matter of less importance than the extension of Slavery. If the *Tribune* believes in positive prohibition in a Territorial Government, it is necessary to exclude Slavery from New Mexico, what shadow of justification has it for its proposed abandonment of it? If it do not believe that it is necessary, why not openly renounce it like Mr. Webster? If it be in the judgment of the editor a mere bold abstraction, then, in offering to give it up, as an equivalent for the abandonment by Texas of her claim, he is trying to make a sort of wooden-utensil bargain. We are weary of this kind of chaffering of the cause of Human Rights. The Slaveholders have the question now pretty much in their own hands. Let them dispose of it as soon as possible. They have succeeded in disgracing quite enough Northern statesmen and politicians. Let them be merciful; let them not further degrade a section of the Union with their treachery; let them still hold fellowship under the Constitution.

### OFFICE-HOLDERS IN WASHINGTON.

Truman Smith in his late speech on appointments presented the following tables, showing the number of Whig and Democratic clerks in the several Departments, on the 1st March, 1849, and on the 1st January, 1850.

MARCH 1, 1849.

In the State Department - Democrats, 32; Whigs, 15.

Navy Department - 25; 23.

War Department - 21; 26.

Interior Department - 93; 34.

Treasury Department - 259; 76.

Post Office Department - 47; 4.

476; 156.

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